


LOWDEN, FRANK O.

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SPEECHES



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Speeches Honoring Abraham Lincoln

Frank O. Lowden

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FRANK O. LOWDEN,
SINNISSIPPI FARM,
OREGON, ILLINOIS

February 21, 1922.

Mr. Albert H. Griffith,
Fisk, Wisconsin.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 15th instant was received after Mr. Lowden's departure for Europe.

In compliance with your request, however, I am enclosing you a type-written copy of his address before the Lincoln Club at Minneapolis.

Yours very truly,

Frances Halder
Secretary.

Lincoln Day, Feb. 13, 1922
Minneapolis, Minn.

It always touches me deeply when I go into another State and find that an important club has been named for the great emancipator. There does seem to be something in the name of Lincoln which gives vitality to an American club as can no other. So tonight I am doubly glad to appear before you and discuss some of the phases of Lincoln's life.

In the last few years there has been a revival of interest in Lincoln. During those awful months of war when our own people and our allies were becoming war-weary, whenever a mission came to America from foreign lands, either to stimulate our activities or to renew their own courage, that mission made a pilgrimage to Lincoln's tomb. I was in Springfield when the French mission, headed by Marshal Joffre, visited that city. I drove with the old hero who saved civilisation in the first battle of the Marne to the cemetery where Lincoln's dust lies. As I looked at the old hero and saw his trembling hands and streaming eyes as he laid his tribute of blossoms upon Lincoln's bier, I thought I could see his courage refreshed and that he in that sacred presence had resolved anew "they shall not pass".

We have known ever since Lincoln's death that he was America's most perfect product, but the world did not learn how much he meant to it until the great war came and civilisation was threatened on every front. Then it was that in Paris, or London, or wherever the torch of liberty still burned, though low, wherever it was that men were still hoping, fighting with their backs to the wall - then it was that the whole world turned to the words of Lincoln. Whether it was Lloyd George in the Parliament of England, or Clemenceau in France, or wherever it might be, it was Lincoln's words that gave inspiration to all the forces fighting the battles of civilisation. Though peace has come, his voice is just as

potent now as it was during that fateful time of war.

Lincoln truly served mankind because he loved mankind. Genuine service must always spring from the promptings of the heart, and is never a product of the will alone. It was the poet Lowell who said:

"How beautiful to see
Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed,
Who loved his charge, but never loved to lead."

and so he couldn't help giving his tenderest thought to the working man. He cared for him because he cared for all men. Every one is familiar with his significant saying that the Lord loves plain people because He made so many of them.

With reference to the age-old question of labor and capital, he declared:

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the highest consideration."

This is but another way of saying that society should chiefly concern itself with the lot in life of the average man. And this is but saying, in another form, that Lincoln was a lover of humanity. The Declaration of Independence, to which again and again he turned in his thinking, included not only the right to life and liberty, but the right to the pursuit of happiness as well. And it is interesting to note that though Lincoln emphasized the right to liberty - for slavery was the dominant issue at the time - he never referred to the Declaration, so far as I can find, without coupling with the right to liberty the right to the pursuit of happiness. Life means much; liberty means much; but both fail unless life can be lived and liberty enjoyed under conditions of well-being. Any form of government is but a means to an end, and that end is the happiness of the individual.

I am sure that in our almost a century and a half of existence, since that great day of Independence, more men have lived happy lives in our country and under our form of government than in any other in all the history of the world.

But the happiness and well-being of the average man and woman must be steadily advanced if our institutions are to endure. The economists may explain, the statesmen may excuse our failure to accomplish this, but the fact remains that our civilization will fail if the well-being of the men and women and children of America shall not continuously improve.

This cannot be, however, in my opinion, if we destroy private initiative in industry. For every invention, for every improved process made under the stimulus of private initiative, though the inventor may profit, society profits immeasurably more. A steadily reducing amount of human labor is all the time required to produce the necessities of life. If we shall abandon the ancient landmarks and substitute for private initiative and private industry a socialistic state, the progress of mankind will be arrested and retrogression will set in. Again Lincoln speaks to us. It is a message for today:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all or cannot so well do for themselves in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

He also warns us:

"Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

Lincoln's love of the Union was the guiding motive and the supreme passion of his life. He hated slavery, but he loved the Constitution more.

You remember that in the Lincoln-Douglas Debate, he admitted that under the law the people of the South had a

right to the Fugitive Slave Law. Many good people denounced him for this. Because of this utterance, Wendell Phillips referred to him as the "Slave Hound of Illinois". But Lincoln was willing to go forward in obedience to the Constitution, with a sublime faith that if he followed the plain path of duty, that path would at some time and in some way lead to the freedom of the slave.

He accepted battle, not to free the slave, but to save the Union. With sad heart, but with steadfast courage, he faced the greatest war the world had ever seen to keep the flag of his country flying in the sky.

Then his faith, how abundantly it was justified! For it was reserved to this man, who did not see how it was to be accomplished, who only knew that if he followed the straight path of duty which lay ahead, that path, somehow and somewhere, would lead to light; it was reserved to Lincoln, when your abolitionists had failed and when all the others who had sought to attain this end had accomplished naught, to strike the manacles from the last unhappy slave.

And so tonight, when there are many who believe that constitutional mandates can be easily laid aside and picked up again when the need is past, to all who believe that they are wiser than the men who framed that Constitution and the form of government under which we live, I commend with all my heart the words and the deeds of Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln was above all a great American. Indeed, it was that same poet whom I have already quoted, who said of him, "Few birth of our new soil, the first American."

There are those who believe they can see somewhere high in the sky a shadowy banner, upon which is written the

word "internationalism". To some this far-away flag seems white, and to others red. They believe that this flag is to supersede the flags of all the nations of the earth. That time may come, but it will come only when the millenium shall dawn. In the meantime we can serve humanity best by serving our own country first.

My friends, somehow we need a flag whose rustle we can hear above our heads, whose folds we can touch with our hands, and our soldier boys need a flag which, if death should come, shall fold them in its embrace - the flag of their country, and not a shadowy international banner floating somewhere out of sight.

Lincoln said:

"I do not mean to say that this general government is charged with the duty of redressing or preventing all the wrongs in the world; but I do think that it is charged with preventing and redressing all wrongs which are wrongs to itself."

These words might indicate that Lincoln was not interested in humanity beyond our own borders. That is not so. All through his writings runs the thought that our cause was the cause of humanity. In his speech at Gettysburg he did say:

"Let us highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish" from the United States, but "from the earth".

His vision circled all the globe. His great heart was beating in sympathy with mankind everywhere. But he knew that the surest way to help the world was to cherish our priceless heritage at home. He knew that if we could preserve intact the liberties and institutions which we called our own, that was the greatest service we could render to mankind.

Humanity! Yes, Lincoln in his great heart embraced more men and women and children than any other who has lived since Calvary, my friends; but Lincoln knew that he was serving the far-off savage, that he was serving the poor oppressed serf somewhere else, that he was serving outraged and wronged humanity the world round most by serving his country first.

How well he wrought I doubt if even he himself could fully understand. Government the world over has been constantly improving, due to our influence and example. The American Republic has been an inspiration to the lovers of liberty everywhere. It is the last and best hope of the world and he who would imperil its future by excess of love for other peoples and other lands is recreant not only to his country, but to mankind everywhere. The Republic, during its almost a century and a half of existence, has had a mighty influence throughout the world. Its power has come from its success as a self-governing nation. Our influence has run around the globe because we have contented ourselves with being an exemplar to, rather than a ruler of, mankind.

Lincoln did preserve the Union and free the slaves. That Nation which he saved had grown so powerful in a little more than fifty years that it was able, in the supreme crisis of civilization, to turn the tide of the great world conflict. And as he prayed, so now may we have faith to believe that "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The cause of democracy is the cause of humanity. Democracy concerns itself with the welfare of the average man. Lincoln was its finest product. In life he was its noblest champion. In death he became its saint. His tomb is now its shrine. His country's cause for which he lived

and died has now become the cause of all the world. It is more than a half century since his countrymen, with reverent hands, bore him to his grave. And still his pitiless logic for the right, his serene faith in God and man, were the weapons with which democracy, humanity and righteousness but recently fought and overcame their ancient foe. Today, my friends, we celebrate his birthday. It will refresh the patriot's hope; it will strengthen the statesman's resolution; it will grip humanity's heart if the friends of man everywhere, on this day, shall pause long enough to recall his life and death and to resolve that Abraham Lincoln too shall not have lived and died in vain.

FRANK O. LOWDEN,
SINNISSIPPI FARM,
OREGON, ILLINOIS

February 23, 1923.

Mr. Herbert A. Griffith,
Fisk, Wisconsin.

Dear Sir:

In the absence of Mr. Lowden,
I wish to acknowledge receipt of
your letter of February 19. Since
he does not expect to return for
sometime, I am enclosing you here-
with a copy of the address request-
ed.

Yours very truly,

Frances Halder
Secretary.

Address of Hon. Frank O. Lowden,
Ex-Governor of Illinois, at Springfield, Illinois,
February 12, 1923, on "Lincoln, the American."

In the last few years there has been a revival of interest in Lincoln. During those awful months of war when our own people and our allies were becoming war-weary, whenever a mission came to America from foreign lands, either to stimulate our activities or to renew their own courage, that mission made a pilgrimage to Lincoln's tomb. I was in Springfield when the French mission, headed by Marshal Joffre, visited this city. I drove with the old hero who saved civilization in the first battle of the Marne to the cemetery where Lincoln's dust lies. As I looked at the old hero and saw his trembling hands and streaming eyes as he laid his tribute of blossoms upon Lincoln's bier, I thought I could see his courage refreshed and that he in that sacred presence had resolved anew "they shall not pass".

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Lincoln's love of the Union was the guiding motive and the supreme passion of his life. He hated slavery, but he loved the Constitution more.

African slavery for years had been the great problem of the American people. Phillips and Garrison had lashed the conscience of the North for permitting this national sin. The Union had long been held together by compromise. Lincoln saw that though there might be compromise on expedients there never could be compromise over principles. He announced, "a house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." And yet when asked for his solution of the

problem he was silent. He knew only that the law must be maintained, whether it guaranteed the integrity of the federal union or slavery. Phillips declared that the constitution was a "union with death and compact with hell". Lincoln urged always that the constitution must be absolutely upheld both when it made for freedom and for slavery. Owen Lovejoy, in a burst of impassioned oratory seldom equalled, exclaimed:

"Yes, I do assist fugitives to escape. Proclaim it upon the housetops; write it upon every leaf that trembles in the forest; make it blaze from the sun at high noon, and shine forth in the radiance of every star that decks the firmament of God. Let it echo through all the arches of Heaven, and reverberate and bellow through all the deep gorges of Hell, where the slavecatchers will be very likely to hear it."

Lincoln, in his debate with Douglas, said in regard to the Fugitive Slave Law:

"I have never hesitated to say, and I do not hesitate to say, that I think under the Constitution of the United States the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive Slave Law."

Then came John Brown, that "noble suicide". But Lincoln could not approve of Harper's Ferry. There was no warrant for it under the law.

Lincoln was nominated for President over the protests of the extremists. Phillips published an article entitled, "Abraham Lincoln, the Slave Hound of Illinois." In it he boasted: "We gibbet a Northern hound today, side by side with the infamous Mason of Virginia". But Lincoln was elected. Maligned by the South, distrusted by the Abolitionists of the North, the months that intervened between his election and his inauguration were the hardest of his life. Sad, depressed, and impotent, he quietly waited at Springfield, while all the forces opposed to his most cherished principle, the preservation of the Union, were mustering both South and North. He hated slavery but he loved the constitution. The federal union and its mission were the supreme passion and sublime faith of his

life. With hands tied, he beheld the South, in the interests of slavery, and a large portion of the North, in the interests of peace, advocate a separation of the two. He witnessed the spectacle of Cabinet ministers conniving at secession. Sustained only by an abiding faith, he waited gloomily but steadfastly for the day when he should take supreme command. Tardily the hour arrived. It was almost, not quite, too late.

It was impossible for Lincoln as President to foresee the emancipation of the slaves because the constitution protected slavery. He could only know that he had but one duty, and sadly and solitarily he set about that duty. In very truth, the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children. Slavery was a sin but it was the sin of the fathers. Lincoln bowed his great shoulders to bear this sin. In his first inaugural address he said:

"I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so and I have no inclination to do so."

Then there followed Bull Run, Shiloh, Antietam - these battles were all fought, not for the slave but for the union. If any had been decisive for the Union slavery would have remained. But events are mightier than men. It was destined that slavery should perish forever from this continent. So the South must fight so well that the North should be compelled for its own preservation to free the slave. Lee was fighting for humanity, though he knew it not. Our Canadian brethren in our own Revolutionary war seemed to lose battles to the colonial forces. Though they could not see this, those disasters were their gain. The freedom of the English colonies was won for them by the American rebels in that great war. England learned a new colonial policy at the surrender of Yorktown, and our then

Canadian foes became beneficiaries of Washington's heroic deeds. So, the noblest sons of the South now admit that Lincoln was the best friend they ever had. In very truth, "they are victors who have been vanquished by the right."

Strange concatenation of events. Phillips, the inspired abolitionist, urging that the South be permitted to go; Greeley, the powerful editor, against a war of coercion; Lincoln, insisting that he was without power to interfere with slavery in the South; Lee, maintaining with force of arms the right to secession in the interest of slavery; - yet out of it all comes the freedom of four million slaves. This glorious but unseen result was the fruit of Lincoln's performance of the duty of the hour.

When the emancipation proclamation was resolved upon, Lincoln solemnly made this confession to his cabinet:

"When the rebel army was at Frederick, I determined, as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a proclamation of emancipation, such as I thought most likely to be useful. I said nothing to any one; but I made the promise to myself and - to my Maker. The rebel army is now driven out, and I am going to fulfil that promise."

And so tonight, when there are many who believe that constitutional mandates can be easily laid aside and picked up again when the need is past, to all who believe that they are wiser than the men who framed that constitution and the form of government under which we live, I commend with all my heart the words and the deeds of Abraham Lincoln.

All through his writings runs the thought too that our cause was the cause of humanity. In his speech at Gettysburg he did not say:

"Let us highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish" from the United States, but "from the earth".

His vision circled all the globe. His great heart was

beating in sympathy with mankind everywhere.

How well he wrought I doubt if even he himself could fully understand. Government the world over has been constantly improving, due to our influence and example. The American Republic has been an inspiration to the lovers of liberty everywhere. It is the last and best hope of the world and he who would imperil its future by excess of love for other peoples and other lands is recreant not only to his country, but to mankind everywhere. The Republic, during its almost a century and a half of existence, has had a mighty influence throughout the world. Its power has come from its success as a self-governing nation. Our influence has run around the globe because we have contented ourselves with being an exemplar to, rather than a ruler of, mankind.

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ancient foe. Today, my friends, we celebrate his birthday. It will refresh the patriot's hope; it will strengthen the statesmen's resolution; it will grip humanity's heart if the friends of man everywhere, on this day, shall pause long enough to recall his life and death and to resolve that Abraham Lincoln too shall not have lived and died in vain.

FRANK O. LOWDEN,
SINNISSIPPI FARM,
OREGON, ILLINOIS

February 26, 1924.

Mr. Albert H. Griffith,
Fisk, Wisconsin.

Dear Sir:

In accordance with your request,
I am enclosing you herewith a copy
of Mr. Lowden's address before the
Chicago Sunday Evening Club, Chicago,
on February 17.

Yours very truly,

Frances Halder
Secretary.

Address made by Frank S. Zowden,
Chicago Sunday Evening Club, Feb. 17, 1924

Among the noblest uses to which this hall is given is that it is the home of the Central Church. I cannot better begin what I shall have to say this evening than to quote a few words from David Swing, that gifted man, who was the first pastor of this church. Many years ago, when the church occupied Central Music Hall, on a Sunday like this, between the birthday of Lincoln and that of Washington, I heard him speak these impressive words:

"Oh, thou brief month in midwinter! For all thy days of physical sorrow, days of suffering poor, of dark storm and drifting snow, Nature has given thee compensation in thy perpetual nearness to two names, the greatest in human history! Thou dost not need leaves and blossoms for thy joy, for when thou would'st think of things beautiful thou can'st point to two men who are the eternal decorations of our fatherland."

We look about us and behold a great and prosperous people; we turn the pages of a national history in which we justly feel a pride; we call the roll of our illustrious dead and deathless names respond; we ask, is it man's hand that has guided us hither, and answer no, for the event always has been greater than the man. For the truth of this let our history bear witness.

When Columbus sailed westward Europe was just awakening from a long, deep sleep. The race again was to set forward on its path of progress. A virgin continent unstained by the vice and crime of pagan and mediaeval times had been reserved for man's most beautiful home and greatest work. The Almighty lifted the veil which concealed it, and Columbus' vision, keener than that of his contemporaries, fell upon San Salvador. But the Spaniards sought here only gold, and America lay fallow for more than a century. Not for its precious metals had it, during all the earlier centuries, been preserved, but for the abode of a new civilization. Columbus discovered America, but it was the Cavalier and the Puritan who discovered the purposes to which this new land had been devoted. In New England's rocky soil the Puritan gained more than did

Pizarro in the gold mines of Peru, for he gained the beginning of a great new civilization. In the swamps of Virginia the Cavalier found more of greatness than did Cortez in the palaces of the Montezumas. Columbus had dreamed of a mighty empire of which he should be viceroy. The Puritan and Cavalier sought only happy homes. No one of them thought of a great republic that one day should rear itself upon this mighty continent, but the Puritan and the Cavalier unconsciously were working towards this end when they founded their settlements upon the Atlantic coast.

The Virginians established a House of Burgesses. They did not know that this was the prototype of a Congress of the United States. The men of Massachusetts founded town meetings. They did not know that the political system of a great republic was to have its origin in this. Roger Williams in the smallest of the colonies declared for freedom of religious worship. He did not know that this should be one of the cornerstones of the greatest written constitution ever framed. One day the British government imposed a tax upon tea. Immediately the cry arose, "No taxation without representation". No one dreamed of separation from England. The colonies had "petitioned", had "remonstrated", had "supplicated", had even "prostrated" themselves before the throne. For what? Only to secure the rights of British subjects. True, Patrick Henry declared, "Give me liberty or give me death!" but the liberty he prayed for was liberty under British rule. Otis, the firebrand of the Revolution, spoke only of "English liberty" and never hinted at American independence. The men of Concord and Lexington and Bunker Hill fought not against England but only in defense of what they felt to be their rights as Englishmen. It was not the principle of monarchy which was assailed, but only George the Third's construction of the prerogatives of monarchy. Washington sorrowfully wrote

to a friend,

"it is not the wish or interest of that government (meaning Massachusetts) or any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence".

Thus we behold all the patriots of those early days, satisfied with the principle of monarchy, looking to England as home, dreaming not on independence but simply engaging in a struggle to maintain legal rights. What legal rights? Legal rights under the constitution of Great Britain.

Little did the farmer soldiers of Lexington believe their shots would be "heard around the world". They only knew that it was an immediate necessity to fire those shots and they hoped the reverberations of their muskets would die away within the boundaries of their own province. The Declaration came not as the product of philosophic thought but only as the result of the logic of events. It begins, as you all recall, "When in the course of human events". And all three drafts of this immortal paper agree in this respect. It was not Jefferson who produced the Declaration of Independence, it was not the eloquence of Henry or Otis or Adams which inspired it; the Declaration of Independence came because it was destined to come. The colonial patriots were one fact, the oppression of England was another, George Washington's generalship was a third, the philosophic genius of Thomas Jefferson was a fourth, but it was something beyond all these which wrote that matchless document. History is not made by men but comes from above. True it is that there must be souls susceptible like "iodine to light" to receive and record the great events which have their inspiration not upon this earth. Many a glorious epoch may have been lost to a nation because there was no one to translate sympathetically some great definite purpose as revealed in the passing day.

It was inevitable that the protest of the "embattled farmers" of Lexington and Concord should grow into the great

War of Independence. The rebellion became a revolution. America triumphed. The fathers, seeking immunity from unjust taxation, founded an American empire. Men always build better or worse than they know. These men builded better.

So when it came to the question of a constitution Washington knew only that he could, as he said, "foresee no greater evil than disunion". Poets were singing of freedom's new birth; philosophers experienced ecstasies over liberty, equality, fraternity. Washington alone offered no new generalization. At this time he confessed he could see "nothing but clouds and darkness" before him. And yet but a little while before he had written, "everything will come out right at last". In these two statements are found the two greatest virtues of statesmanship, which happen also to be the two greatest virtues of the Christian - humility and faith. We could not predict the destiny of our people. He had seen that early and crushing victories in the war with England would have probably resulted in reconciliation between England and the American colonies. He had learned humility because unseen roads had led his country to its supreme success. As Washington, whether standing in the bow of a boat on the ice-clasped Delaware, or receiving the plaudits of his countrymen, was the same modest, reverent man, for he knew not whither events would lead him. He was the same sublime figure in all hours.

As first President of the United States he exhibited the same quality. One group of statesmen urged closer relations with France on the ground of gratitude; another urged war with England because of vengeance. Washington thought only of the new nation and espoused neither cause. The French Revolution intoxicated Jefferson and drove Hamilton into a distrust of the people. Washington alone remained unchanged.

What a difference between the two great political revolutions of the eighteenth century - the American and the

French revolutions! The one was fought in the name of simple legal right, the other in the name of liberty, equality, and fraternity. America achieved the dreams of the French philosophers by the performance of the duty which lay first beyond. France, with high-sounding phrases upon her lips, passed from the delirium of revolution into military despotism. The simple protest against the Stamp Act has mounted up to the battle cry of freedom; the trinity of France's greatest words descended into the adulation of an Emperor.

There is no more significant event in the history of America than the appointment of John Marshall to the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court of the United States. Never probably in the history of the world has a judge received such homage as a great people and a great profession paid to the memory of this illustrious man but a few years ago. In the last year of the eighteenth century the Federalist party had been absolutely crushed. While its rival was still celebrating the victory over that party, John Adams, its defeated candidate, as one of the last acts of his administration, affixed his signature to Marshall's commission. This deed of a dying party exercised more influence over the destiny of America, as I believe, than did all the deeds of its successful adversary for a full quarter of a century - and I do not detract from the great Presidents of that time. When Marshall became Chief Justice the constitution was but an essay on government. When, at the end of his career, Liberty Bell in Independence Hall tolled out his death - and then became silent forever - the constitution had become the organic life of a great republic. The Federalist party with its last breath bequeathed John Marshall to the American people.

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I believe that this government cannot endure
permanently half slave and half free."

And yet when asked for his solution of the problem he was silent. He knew only that the law must be maintained, whether it guaranteed the integrity of the federal union or slavery. Phillips had declared that the constitution was a "union with death and compact with hell". Lincoln urged always that the constitution must be absolutely upheld both when it made for freedom and for slavery.

Lincoln was nominated for President over the protests of the extremists. Phillips published an article entitled, "Abraham Lincoln, the Slave Hound of Illinois". In it he boasted: "We gibbet a Northern hound today side by side with the infamous Mason of Virginia." But Lincoln was elected. Maligned by the South, distrusted by the Abolitionists of the North, the months that intervened between his election and his inauguration were the hardest of his life. Sad, depressed, and impotent, he quietly waited at Springfield, while all the forces opposed to his most cherished principle, the preservation of the Union, were mustering both South and North. He hated slavery but he loved the constitution. The federal union and its mission were the supreme passion and sublime faith of his life. With hands tied, he beheld the South, in the interests of slavery, and a large portion of the North, in the interests of peace, advocate a separation of the two. He witnessed the spectacle of Cabinet ministers conniving at secession. Sustained only by an abiding faith, he waited gloomily but steadfastly for the day when he should take supreme command. Tardily the hour arrived. It was almost, not quite, too late.

It was impossible for Lincoln as President to foresee the emancipation of the slaves because the constitution protected slavery. He could only know that he had but one duty, and sadly and solitarily he set about that duty. In very truth, the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children. Slavery was a sin but it was the sin of the fathers. Lincoln bowed his great shoulders to bear this sin. In his first inaugural address he said:

"I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so and I have no inclination to do so."

Then there followed Bull Run, Shiloh, Antietam - these battles all were fought, not for the slave but for the union. If any had been decisive for the Union slavery would have remained. But events are mightier than men. It was destined that slavery should perish forever from this continent. So the South must fight so well that the North should be compelled for its own preservation to free the slave. Lee was fighting for humanity, though he knew it not. Our Canadian brethren in our own Revolutionary war seemed to lose battles to the colonial forces. Though they could not see this, those disasters were their gain. The freedom of the English colonies was won for them by the American rebels in that great war. For England learned a new colonial policy at the surrender of Yorktown, and our then Canadian foes became beneficiaries of Washington's heroic deeds. So the noblest sons of the South now admit that Lincoln was their friend. In very truth, "they are victors who have been vanquished by the right".

Thus Lincoln did preserve the Union, and though he could not foresee it, did free the slaves. That nation which he saved had grown so powerful in a little more than fifty years that it was able, in the supreme crisis of civilization, to turn the tide of the great world conflict. And as he prayed so now may we have faith to believe that "government of the

people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth".

Washington and Lincoln alike recognized the dependence of nations upon God, and we need to confess this truth as never before in all our history. Within the last few years we have had before our very eyes two attempts to replace a civilization founded upon righteousness, upon moral and spiritual concepts, with a purely materialistic and Godless structure. First, under the leadership of their philosophers, Germany evolved the idea that the state could do no wrong. She had been marvelous in her achievements during the years which had preceded the war; she had shown an efficiency which challenged the admiration of the world; she had come to think that she had so far conquered matter in all its forms that she could rest her future upon mere material strength. And we know the result. And again at about the same time another effort was made to build a civilization upon material concepts alone. This time it was in Russia that the effort was made. There they had taken as a basis for their new philosophy of government the principles of Karl Marx, which sought to resolve all things into material terms. Churches were dismantled; the clergy were driven from the altar; and a civilization based upon purely material concepts was the thing attempted. The world knows the result. It now sees that it is just as impossible to rest a civilization upon a material base as it is upon the might of the sword alone. There is this thing in common between the two attempts, the attempt of the German Militarists and the attempt of the Bolshevists, and that is that each sought to eliminate all spiritual forces and all moral qualities from their respective schemes. And therefore it never seemed to me illogical that the Bolshevists, when they came into possession of Russia, should meet the ambassadors of Militarism at Brest-Litovsk upon equal terms and there frame a treaty of peace. Isn't it strange that with these two colossal failures staring us

in the face we should need to be reminded by Lincoln that "it is the duty of nations as well as of men to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God". Let me read you part of the Fast Day Proclamation which Lincoln issued in the darkest days of the war:

"We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of Heaven. We have been preserved, these many years, in peace and prosperity. We have grown in numbers, wealth and power as no other nation has ever grown; but we have forgotten God. We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace, and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us; and we have vainly imagined, in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virtue of our own. Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to God that made us:

"It behooves us then to humble ourselves before the offended Power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness.

"All this being done in sincerity and truth, let us then rest humbly in the hope authorized by the divine teachings, that the united cry of the nation will be heard on high, and answered with blessings no less than the pardon of our national sins and the restoration of our now divided and suffering country to its former happy condition of unity and peace."

We are confronted with grave and perplexing problems. Civilization itself seems to some hanging in the balance. The world is drifting whither no man knows. How quickly all this would change if these words of Lincoln could only enter and hold the heart of the world in these troublous times.

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